1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12.

ten ĕjo: 'Ol-kila le-'ng-anaishi ai,' nesipa.

Ore ten ĕjo e-ñgorōyōni: 'Ol-kila le-papa,' nesipa.

true if he adds: 'By my sister's garment.' 626

Likewise if a Masai woman adds: 'By my father's garment,' it is true.

Ol-momai loo-'l-Maasae.

Trial by ordeal among the Masai. 695

Neinos kulikae-Maasae ol-momai.

Some Masai have a trial by ordeal.

Ten ĕji etaasa ñgania ol-bae torono, nĕok o-sarge naisho ol-aigwenani, nĕjo ĕokito: 'Ten etaasa elle-bae, naasr eng-Ai.'

If a person is accused of having done something wrong, he drinks some blood, which is given him by the spokesman, and says: 'If I have done this deed, may God kill me.'

Ore ten etaasa elle-bae, nĕă; kake ten eitu eias, nemĕă.

If he has committed the crime, he dies; but if not, no harm befalls him.

'Singŏliŏltin.

Songs.

O-singŏlio le-'ng-ŏmono e-'ng-Ai.

A prayer to God[1]. 787 844

Eisho'ñgorōyokoo-'l-Maasae p' eisho eng-ae-ñgorōyōni.

Masai women do as follows when one of their number gives birth to a child.

Neitururo, ne'yaki idya natŏishe kulle, nĕyeñg ol-kerr ŏji Ol-oipokieki eng-aji, araki Ol-kipoket.

They collect together and take milk to the mother; they then slaughter a sheep, which is called, The purifier of the hut, or simply The purifier.

Naa 'ñgorōyok naayeñg oopeny, neinos aamut.

The women slaughter the animal by themselves, and eat all the meat.

Menyikaki 'l-lewa en-nĕyeñgye, amu ĕjo em-bariany.

No man may approach the spot where the animal is slaughtered, for it is considered unlawful.

Ore p' eidip, neinyŏtŏto aarany, nĕjo:

When the women have finished their meal, they stand up and sing the following song: [539]

[1] Masai women often pray twice daily. Men and children usually only pray in time of drought, or when a cattle plague is raging.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
FL12 Masai FL12

844
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782

Eng-Ai! eng-Ai! naōmon ai,	*Solo.* The God! the God! whom I pray, my,
Injooki en-dōmōno.	Give me the offspring.
Naikurukur nesha,	Who thunders and it rains,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Kilegben oilepu,	*Solo.* Morning star. which rises hither,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Ṗaasai leleshwa[1],	*Solo.* He to whom I offer prayer is like sage,
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.
Naōmoni, neniñg,	*Solo.* Who is prayed to, and He hears.
Iye ōshi ak' aaōmon.	*Chorus.* Thee every day only I pray to thee.

Free Translation.

I

My God, to thee alone I pray
That offspring may to me be given.
Thee only I invoke each day,
O morning star in highest heaven.
God of the thunder and the rain,
Give ear unto my suppliant strain.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

II

My God, to thee alone I pray,
Whose savour is as passing sweet
As only choicest herbs display,
Thy blessing daily I entreat.
Thou hearest when I pray to thee,
And listenest in thy clemency.
Lord of the powers of the air,
To thee I raise my daily prayer.

[1] This line is sometimes rendered Ṗarsai leleshwa. Ṗarsai is another name for God. Ol-leleshwa is *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, Houtt.

1: Hollis G-5 (ca. 1894-1904) 1905
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844
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782

Neitōki aarany likae-singólio, nējo:

They then sing another song as follows:

Na-toiye le-'maigisa.

Solo. O girls, (friends) of the well-dressed one.

Máigisa mame-yey'-ai!

Chorus. Let us dress well, O my mother[1].

Hoiye! Eng-oloñg
Naïni, pasim ai!

Solo. Ho! The day
On which thy child is born, O my joy!

Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Chorus. Ho! He! Hoo!
Ya! Ye! Hoo!

Free Translation.

Come maidens all and sing the praise of her,
Our fair one, who in raiment bright is clad.
We too must splendid garments wear, and so
With love and children shall our hearts be glad.
Greet we this day of days with joyful song,
The son is born for whom her soul did long.

O-singólio loo-'ñgorōyok eōmonu eng-aï.

The women's prayer for rain.

789
539
782

Ten edol aajo etanya eng-aï esha, neitururo 'ñgorōyok, nēāniki 'n-gujit il-kilani lenye, nepwo aarany, nējo:

If there is a drought, the women collect together, and, having tied grass on to their clothes, they sing as follows:

Ol-ōkorosio lañg li-orioñg kop.

Solo. Our herbs of the Earth's back.

Hie! Wae! Parmasio.

Chorus. Hie! Wae! Almighty.

Menye Nasira lai eisula, eisula,

Solo. The father of my Nasira[2] has conquered, has conquered,

O-supuko neitōki 'l-purkeli

Chorus. The highlands and also the lowlands

Lo-'l-kerembet lañg le-'ng-Ai añg ōlala.

Of our vast country which belongs to our God.

Solo. Ol-ari lañg iyook,

Solo. May this be our year, ours,

Chorus. Ol-kilikwai lo-'l-le-'M-Batyany.

Chorus. O messenger of Mbatian's son.

[1] *Vide* Proverb No. 69, p. 250.

[2] Nasira was Mbatian's daughter, and half-sister to Lenana.

6:Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

were killed, and the cattle driven off. Famine came upon them, and they were reduced to the terrible necessity of selling their children. Large numbers took refuge at Njemps and Nyiro, where they had to bow themselves to the cultivation of the soil. The war lasted several years. At last only a remnant of the Wa-kwafi of Lykipia were left, and these contrived to make peace. Not so fortunate were those of Guas' Ngishu. The Masai swept from north to south, and left not a man in the entire land, those who escaped the spear and sword finding refuge in Kavirondo.

Such is the history of the bloody feud between the Masai clans. Now they live peaceably together [illegible] kraals in friendly proximity.

Having thus conveyed to the reader [illegible] general notions about the tribe as a whole, we may [illegible] conveniently turn to follow with the eye of our imagination the life-history of one of its members.

Very many years ago a matron of the Masai lay in what is pleasingly described as an "interesting condition." Her environment was not of a luxurious or even comfortable nature. She lay on no better a bed than a dressed bullock's hide spread on the bare ground. The hut which protected her from the blazing sun or the cold night was not built on sanitary principles, and was not commodious. It reached a maximum height of three feet and a half, and might be nine feet long by five feet broad. It was constructed of boughs bent over and interwoven together, forming a flat-roofed building with rounded corners. To keep out the wind a composition of cow's dung was liberally plastered over the boughs. This sufficed for the dry season, but for the rainy one a further covering of hides had to be laid upon it. The doorway was of the smallest, and stood at right angles to the line of the house in the manner of a porch. The hut of the expectant Masai lady was one of a circle enclosing a considerable area, in which the cattle were kept during the night. As this central space was never swept up, its condition may be better imagined than described. The smells were strikingly suggestive of the farmyard; and if the reader is so inclined, he may imagine some charming picture of full-uddered kine, with their mild eyes and expression of repose as they contentedly chew the cud. For any such picture, however, I can accept no responsibility. Outside the circle of huts there extends a strong fence of thorns as a protection from wild beasts, and in case of an attack. Inside

6: Thomson K-3 (1883-1884)1887
FL12 Masai FL12

844 the hut were gathered together the gossips of the kraal, mingling, so far as space permitted, with calves and goats. [845] A number of large calabashes lay in one corner, and a coarsely-made earthen cooking-pot in another. Fleas in thousands skipped about, and the midwives had their time well taken up with the myriads of flies which pertinaciously would insist on cultivating personal intimacy with them.

The anticipated event passed over safely. Indeed, the whole affair was hardly thought worthy of remark, except on the part of the mother, who heard with deep pleasure that her [842] offspring was a boy. Girls are sadly at a discount among the Masai. They would always prefer to have boys, but happily nature sees ahead a little, and takes care that a fair

[133] [342]

MASAI KRAAL, DONYO LONGONOT IN DISTANCE.

supply of girls is provided. As there is no registrar or birth column, I am totally unable to state when our hero first saw 846 the light. That, however, is a small matter. No particular 852 ceremonies marked the occasion, and the happy mother was about next day, attending to her household duties as if nothing unusual had happened, the little stranger being warmly ensconced on her back beneath the bullock's hide which formed the mother's garment.

855 Babies are babies everywhere, and for the first year or two the embryo warrior grappled with the problem of life like a philosopher as he sucked his mother's milk. Then he spoke. Having next found his legs, he grew space. Getting above mother's milk, he was soon exercising his incipient teeth on a huge chunk of beef. Now this was a very reprehensible indulgence on the part of our young friend, for it doubtless

PREFACE.

114 In the past very little detailed work on the social life of the Masai has been attempted,
115 since such investigations cannot well be made through interpreters, while few, if any, Europeans speak the Masai language sufficiently fluently to make such an investigation in that language.

[122] Although I cannot claim any knowledge of the language of the Masai, I have been fortunate enough to become friendly with four Masai who speak Kikuyu fluently, and as I speak Kikuyu as well as I do English I was able to learn something from them about their customs.

[124] These notes are of necessity brief and full of lacunæ, since I avoided asking direct leading questions, though tempted to do so, and also because they do not include information unless it was obtained from or corroborated by more than one informant.

[101] The Masai from whom this information was obtained came from that part of the Masai Reserve which lies to the west of the Mau Escarpment, and I was not able to find out whether these customs prevailed among the whole of the Masai group.

My two principal informants were an old woman, past child-bearing, and her married son, aged about 35 (I have unfortunately lost the paper with their names).

[648] [128] They were insistent that most of these customs have been slightly modified since government control has been set up, but I have, notwithstanding, written mainly in the present tense.

PART I.—CHILDHOOD.

844 *Birth.*—Among the Masai, birth takes place in the woman's own hut in her husband's village and she is attended by an old woman of her husband's family. Other women may be present, but no men. If a woman is having her first child she assumes a stooping position supported by other women, as the first child is considered more difficult to deliver; otherwise a woman giving birth to a child lies upon the bed. The acting midwife cuts the cord with a special instrument,[1] and both the woman and new-born child are washed with warm water. The placenta is carried out and thrown down in the cattle yard, but is not buried. As soon as the child is born its sex is ascertained in order that an animal may be bled to supply blood for the mother to drink. If the child is a boy the blood is obtained from a young bull, and if a girl, from a young heifer. (For method of procuring blood *see* Part IX.) From the day of birth onwards many sheep and goats are killed to supply meat and fat for the mother in order that the child may grow up strong, but these animals have no special significance, and are not sacrificial or for purification purposes.

[846]

553 [107] *Naming Ceremony.*—Children are not named until they can run about, and unlike some other East African tribes, the child does not inherit any name from any particular relation.

[1] There is some mystery attaching to the instrument used, and I am not sure what it is.

13:Huntingford E-4 (no date) 1953 FL12 Masai FL12

his father's home or in his own *manyata*. But it seems that a ceremony is performed which releases the husband from the prohibition on warriors having sexual relations with married women. 585

A widow is looked after by her husband's brother, or by one of her own brothers; she may cohabit with her husband's brother. It appears that a woman who has had children may not marry again, though one who is childless may marry her husband's half-brother, if he has one. Any children she may have after her husband's death are counted as his. 587 837 848

Polygyny

A man may have as many wives as he can pay for: one of Hollis's texts says that a rich man may have as many as 20. Actual figures show that while two wives are common, three and over are found much less often, and more than five very seldom. Each wife has her own hut in the husband's kraal, *enk-ag*, the first wife on the right of the gate as you go in, the second on the left. To each wife are allocated cattle which she holds in trust for her children. 595

Adultery

Adultery is not common, because the rules controlling sexual relations are wide and elastic. Any of a man's age-mates (members of his own *ol-eji*) may have access to his wife, and though men of one age-set are not supposed to associate with the wives of another age-set, in practice this rule is little observed. A warrior is not supposed to have intercourse with a married woman, and a married woman may not have sexual relations with an uncircumcised boy. 837 684

Divorce

A wife cannot be divorced once she has borne a child, though a temporary separation may occur, the wife, if the husband is at fault, going to one of his age-mates, or, if she is at fault, to her father. 586

Adoption

In the old days, children captured in war were often adopted; and even today, children of "foreigners" (those who are not Masai) may be adopted, especially in times of famine. Such children become accepted as Masai. Under the term "adoption" is also included the practice of adopting children within the family, e.g., a father will adopt a child of his wife's which has been begotten by another man, and a barren wife may adopt a child of one of her co-wives. 597

Birth and Naming

Birth takes place in the mother's hut, where she is attended by a midwife, *enk-aiteyioni*. The women and girls of the kraal assemble, and after the child has been born they feast on an ox supplied by the father; next day another ox is killed for the rest of the people of the kraal. The mother remains in her hut till she feels strong enough to go out; the husband may not enter the hut for 10 days, nor eat in it till the child can walk. Intercourse between husband and wife stops as soon as the wife knows she is pregnant, and is not resumed till the child is weaned, when it is between one and two years old. (Hollis says till the time when it cuts the two middle incisor teeth, upper and lower.) Twins are considered very desirable, and a boy is preferred to a girl. 844 846 843 833 845

The first name is given either on the fourth day after birth, when the child is taken outside to be shown the sun, or at a feast held on the 10th day, which begins with the killing and cooking of an ox: the meat is distributed to the inhabitants of the kraal, and in the evening the mother, carrying the child on her back, milks the cows. After this, the child is named in the presence of the father and mother 553 852

D 197 /15 cont./
the El asiti also have their own idiom, which will be briefly discussed at a later place.

M 197 802 184 0 147 802 D M 771 304 619 [197] D M 174 [84] [96]
Corresponding to the uniformity in language, the number words are the same among the Masai and Wakuafi, whereas the Asá and El asiti have their own words for only a few numbers, but in general always make use of the ones used by the other two branches. One finds a complete correspondence for all three branches in their religious view, and the manner of circumcision customary among both sexes. The peculiar circumcision of the boys is practiced by no other people at all, with the exception of one lineage of the Tatoga, closely related to the Masai people. In birth and death, too, all three have the same customs, while in the rest of their customs one finds only unessential differences which are based solely on the difference in their external way of life. The most striking proof for the three branches' belonging together, however, lies in their descent.

The people as a whole are divided into three large tribes, the Il aiser, the El mulelyan, and the El meigana, each of which is made up of a number of lineages, and every Asá, as well as every Ol kuafi and Ol massani, is a representative of one of these lineages.

M 614 613
If we now concern ourselves further with the ethnography of the Masai in particular, which is at the same time that of the Wakuafi, we are thereby including the ethnographic traits of the entire people

D M 128
the strewing of individual differences that have developed among the Wandorobo in the course of time and under the influence of changed conditions will be reserved for the third part.

/18/ Second Part

I.

000 Tribes, lineages, sublineages. -- The Il gidoi lineage. -- The chief: his rule and policy, magic medicines, genealogical tree, village, ceremonies, foods. -- The sorcerers. -- The El kiborón lineage. -- The rainmakers.

M 614 613
Every tribe (oi gishomi) is divided, as has already been mentioned, into a number of lineages (oi gelata, ol gelat). Among these, in turn, one distinguishes principal lineages (oi gelata kituk)

/50 cont./

843 observed, since as a rule a new pregnancy ends the nursing period.
[853] The pregnant woman removes the ornaments that she previously
[863] wore, in order -- as the Masai explain this custom -- not to entice men. During the first five months of pregnancy the woman lives as
[262] usual with respect to food and drink. Then she is given a broth of lung, liver, and kidneys cooked with a bitter-tasting tree bark (1)

1. From Albizzia anthelmintica.

called ol mukutan, and milk, only the latter during the last month. Through this the woman is supposed to become as exceedingly thin as possible, so that the birth will proceed easier. She may not eat the meat of fallen livestock. The husband during this time need not subject himself to any special diet or special acts, but he may not go to war, for it is believed that he would die on the way. Shortly before the delivery the husband may not leave the kraal or its immediate
[832] vicinity. If he should tease a crippled person or mock him because of his infirmity, the awaited child would come into the world af-
• 844 flicted with the same defect. /31/ For a successful delivery the
[782] pregnant woman prays Ng ai nàiàg 'ndùnggà en tàiànani (1)

1. Or en dianani.

• "God let come out healthy -- the monster," as the unborn child is called. The woman gives birth in her hut, which on this day may be entered only by women and girls. A midwife (ɛ̀ɛ̀ gàiànjànì, ɔ̀ gàiànjàk) provides or performs the necessary assistance. If the newborn child is a boy, the midwife calls out that blood should be drawn from an ox as food for the women in childbed; in the other case, from a heifer. Through this the father also learns the sex of the newborn child. During the birth process the women who are in the hut
[732] or standing around it cry to God for help and assistance in shrill, often
846 plaintive voices. The birth of a boy is more desired than that of a
[842] girl, but the greatest joy prevails at the birth of twins, especially if both are boys. In that case the woman often keeps only the first-born child with her, while the second one is cared by another suitable

/53 cows./

845 wife of her husband; often, however, she also comes both herself.
[801] Soon after birth the twins receive a leather cord trimmed with cowrie shells hung around their necks, an expression of personal pride, so that everyone will immediately recognize the child as belonging to
[803] a pair of twins. To be sure, the Mimi living in a circle of two to three days' march are well acquainted with each other and are immediately informed of every bit of news through the constant intercourse between the individual kraals. "Every Mimi coming from farther away, however, upon seeing a child unknown to him, always asks first of all: "Who is his father?" The birth of triplets is said not to occur. After the birth of a deformed or dead child, the young
[813] mother is beaten by the women of the kraal and the father overwhelmed with abuse from the other men. The woman is punished because it is assumed that the practiced sexual intercourse in far advanced pregnancy and through that injured the fetus. But then an
[814] unnatural birth or a stillbirth is also regarded as a punishment of God for a sin, especially as one directed against a relative, a fellow lineage or tribal member, be it through inflicting an injury or
847 neglecting a bond of friendship or love. They admit the killing of newborn children only in case the child comes into the world very frail or was conceived out of wedlock by an old, sick man. There can be no doubt, however, but that they also kill deformed children immediately after birth, for one never sees cripples among them.

• 849 During the birth process the women of the neighborhood have streamed together in front of the hut of the woman in childbed, in
[824] order to bring her milk or else fire. First of all the other wives of her husband hasten there, as well as the women of her kin, her lineage or tribe. Good /53/ breeding demands it of them and they comply in order not to be subjected to the mockery and abusive language of the others. When the child is brought into the world, the women of the kraal sing and dance, in order to thank Ng ai for the successful birth, for which they receive an ox from the father of the newborn child, which they immediately consume outside the kraal. The next day a second ox is slaughtered, at the consumption of which
808 any guest is welcome. In the lineage of the El Kimolo every newborn

(Cont cont.)
flat wooden pegs 25-30 centimeters long, by means of which the artificial leg is splinted to the leg by laced leather straps.

Midwifery and Women's Allowance

Midwifery is in the hands of older women, who, as ẖ gebrijak (dim. of gebrijan), professionally practice the calling of midwives and have at their command a surprisingly accurate anatomical knowledge of the body parts in question. It seems that only in exceptional cases are they not called upon at a birth. At the beginning of the last month of pregnancy the midwife examines the pregnant woman several times, in order to determine by palpation of the abdomen the position of the child. The head position is regarded as the most favorable for the birth; thus, if the woman doing the examining finds another one, she attempts to change it to the desired one by means of a massage.

As soon as the first labor pains begin, the midwife, who lives either in the same kraal or in one nearby, is called in. She finds the woman in labor, who, incidentally, is not regarded as unclean, on the bed in her hut in a squatting, sitting, or lying position. With a normal birth the assisting woman remains in attendance without performing any kind of superstitious or irrelevant manipulations. On the other hand, if it proves necessary to bring about an intensifying of the labor-pain activity, the midwife, with the help of a few women, first leads the woman in labor around for a few steps and, if the desired result is not obtained in this way, further help is given by means of a light massage. Only if these remedies prove insufficiently effective does one attempt the last one: The woman giving birth is /197/ slowly lifted by her feet by several women until her body hangs vertically and the crown of her head touches the ground, whereupon the midwife massages her abdomen in the direction of the navel.

The use of internal medicine to promote labor-pain activity is rare; a mixture consisting of liquid sheep fat and a decoction of gi wgi root (Cordia ovarensis Chiov) is regarded as effective.

The midwives mentioned regard the undertaking of turnings through insertion of the hand, in analogy to the birth assistance given livestock,

/197 cont./

844 as practicable and useful in and of itself, but understandably fear doing more harm than good with it because of the impossibility of observing the necessary cleanliness. Deeper, internal, manual and operative intervention to facilitate or to make possible the child's emergence does not seem to be practiced anywhere. Support of the perineum to prevent tears does not take place, but the opening of the vulva is not infrequently enlarged by a small incision above or by one above and below, in order to prevent tearing of the entire perineum.

845 184 One stands helpless when confronted by a pelvic narrowness obstructing the birth. Mother and child succumb to it. Although this situation practically never occurs among the Masai living in the tribe, it was often observed among those living in the European settlements, and, to be sure, the pelvic narrowness was always [582] because the woman was too young. These last Masai, in the manner of the coastal people, and in contrast to the former, marry very young, and since the woman must always be considerably younger than the man and, on the other hand, the choice of girls is limited, it not infrequently happens that the latter, upon entering marriage, though sexually mature, nevertheless do not yet have a fully adult skeleton. This phenomenon, not infrequent among primitive peoples, must perhaps in general, and in this instance in particular, be traced back to premature sexual intercourse and, because of that, premature menstruation.

844 During the birth act the woman giving birth adopts either a position "on all fours," similar to the knee-elbow position, or a sitting one, in the latter of which she plants her bent legs against hut posts and leans herself against a hut pole, which she grasps with her hands above her head. The first position is probably the most widespread. Two women standing beside the woman giving birth, to the right and left, holding her by the shoulders, seem to be trying to hold her suspended. In front of this group, with her head under the woman giving birth, crouches the midwife, in order to receive the child.

"As soon as the head and one shoulder are born," an eh gaitoijani expressed herself, "the rest follows by itself; only rarely is it necessary

/197 cont./

• 844 that I give a gentle tug with a hooklike insertion of the index finger into the armpit of the child."

/198/ In order to hasten the exit of the afterbirth, one of the assisting women tries to promote labor-pain activity by tickling with a feather the palate of the woman giving birth. This manipulation is also used in rare cases during the periods of the preliminary and of the actual labor pains. During the afterbirth period the child's umbilical cord is removed, in that the umbilical cord (os entui) is first tied close to the body with a cord of bark bast and then cut at a place an inch away from the body with the instrument otherwise serving as a razor, the ol murmja. A navel bandage is unknown.

[184] The afterbirth, which is not the object of superstitious customs, is tossed into the livestock kraal by the midwife in some districts, buried there at night in others.

The newborn child is cleaned by a rubbing with liquid fat. According to statements of the people, this treatment, however, is supposed to represent not so much a cleaning as a strengthening and comfort. Then the child is laid beside its mother on a soft leather skin freshly greased. As soon as the latter has recovered from the birth act, she chews four grains of ol odua (Maesa lanceolata) and gives the child an extract of these as a purgative. On the following day the newborn child is given its first bath, consisting of a tepid extract of the twigs of ak gairetuai (Physalis minima L.) and the stalks of aig alsetoijai (Commelina spec.), to which is ascribed the action of a protective magic against sickness. Cold baths, say, for the purpose of hardening, are unknown. The child remains unclothed.

846 [824] [857] [751]

846 757 The woman in childbed leaves her hut as a rule as soon as her condition permits, which is usually already the case on the following day. Her medicinal treatment consists first of all in the administration of laxatives, for which in this case a mixture made out of liquid fat, honey, steppe salt, and a few pounded ol odua corns, as well as a leaf infusion of os sinet (Grewia bicolor Juss.), is especially prized. Furthermore, she is given a beef soup seasoned with ol oilale bark (Colubrina asiatica Brongn.), as well as a decoction of ol gebere l e gemma (Sphaeranthus microcephalus), a leafy swamp plant, or a leaf infusion of ol eduru (Epaltes gariepina) or also a decoction of